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ABSTRACT

One article, "Non-Western Literature: Cultural Diversity and the Reader's Response" explores some of the difficulties encountered in studying non-Western literature: the different conceptions of time in Eastern thought, the ways in which these differences affect Indian and Japanese literature, and the necessity of altering the manner of study if Western students are to understand non-Western literary worlds. "Indo-English Fiction: 1847-1947," the second article, discusses Indian authors and the literature which they have produced in English--early social chronicles, female autobiographies, and novels--as well as authors' translations of their Indian works into English. Short bibliographies are included for Indian, Chinese, Japanese, African, and general global literature. (MF)

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TEACHING THE LITERATURE OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

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The 1969 Fall Conference of the New Jersey Association of Teachers of English marked our first recognition of the shift from an occidental to a global outlook. Emphasizing the arts and traditions of Africa, China, India, and Japan, the conference provided an introduction to classroom teaching of these literatures. The papers presented here were furnished by the instructors of the Japanese and Indian seminars at the conference. The list of resources, evolved from booklists for each of the seminars, should be regarded as introductory rather than comprehensive.

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John B. Alphonso-Karkala, a graduate of the University of Bombay and the University of London, served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1953 to 1960 in London, Geneva, and the United Nations. His doctoral dissertation was a study of Indo-English Literature, the subject also of papers Professor Alphonso-Karkala has presented at MLA meetings. From 1962 to 1964 he taught in the Oriental Classics Program at Columbia University and he now is Professor of Literature at State University College, New Paltz, New York.

NON-WESTERN LITERATURE: CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND THE READER'S RESPONSE

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There was a time when an English teacher's attention to non-Western literature was concerned with an unwanted child. Recent enthusiasm to adopt the Asian infant in courses of study has substituted concern for neglect. We now hesitate only lest we prove unskilled midwives for so wonderful an offspring.

There is comfort, of course, in knowing much of the matter and manner of non-Western literature speaks directly to the reading experience of even the most parochial Western student. Lu Chi's "Wen Fu" ("The Art of Letters") provides apt illustrations from the third century after Christ. Discussing the artistry of earlier writers, he suggests subjects appropriate to poets and readers the world over though he intended them for a Chinese audience only. He writes: He mourned the fall of leaves in strong handed autumn, he rejoiced over the tender buds of fragrant spring."¹ Contemplating the poet's relation to tradition, he adds, "... being immersed in phrases painfully consenting, it was like darting fish with the hooks in their gills, dragged from the depths of an unplumbed pool."² Of structure, Lu Chi writes, "After this he chose from among the ideas and placed them in order; he scrutinized the expressions and put them where they belonged."³ Even his description of the mystery of the creation of a poem seems appropriate for East and West alike: "... he was engrossing the great spaces with a span of silk, belching forth torrents [of language] from the inch space of the heart."⁴ In such instances cultural diversity does not impose special difficulties for Western readers, and the teacher of English need employ only those approaches practiced in the study of Western literature.

If this were always the case we would have no special problem. Unfortunately, some of the ambiguities encountered by Western readers are resolvable only by reference to the non-Western literary traditions from which they spring. Such allusions are less likely to be known to Western readers than allusions to earlier Western works. E. G. Seidensticker, noted translator of Japanese literature, has indicated that so significant an element as the climax of Yasunari Kawabata's *The Snow Country* is likely to prove confusing for even a careful Western reader. Surely few American readers would be likely to recognize the reference to the opening passage of the classic *Heike Monogatari* from the brief passage in the modern novel. As Shimamura, the protagonist of the Nobel Prize winner's novel, has tea at a mountain inn, he ponders a decision to leave the snow country, to return to Tokyo, his wife and his meaningless study of Western ballet:

The innkeeper had lent him an old Kyoto teakettle, skillfully inlaid in silver with flowers and birds, and from it came the wind in the pines. He could make out two pine breezes, as a matter of fact, a near one and a far one. Just beyond the far breeze he heard faintly the tinkling of a bell. He put his ear to the kettle and listened. Far away, where the bell tinkled on, he suddenly saw Komoko's feet, tripping in time with the bell. He drew back.¹

¹Tr. E. R. Hughes (New York, 1951), p. 95.

²*Ibid.*, p. 96.

³*Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵Yasunari Kawabata, *Snow Country*, tr. E. G. Seidensticker (New York: 1955), p. 127.

The bells mentioned here are suggestive of if not a direct allusion to the bells in the opening passage of *Heike Monogatari*:

In the sound of the bell of the Gion Temple echoes the impermanence of all things. The pale hue of flowers of the teak-tree shows the truth that they who prosper must fail. The proud ones do not last long, but vanish like a spring night's dream. And the mighty ones too will perish in the end, like dust before the wind.²

Recognition of this allusion is central to understanding the finality of Shimamura's decision and to realizing the *aware* or special sadness of the passage. Generally in such cases of allusion and the reliance on aesthetic principles like *aware* which are unknown to most readers here, only wide reading in works of non-Western literature will aid the teacher of English. Fortunately for us, when such factors are pivotal, translators may provide some comment.

Between these extremes of difficulty and ease, however, lies a middle ground which is the subject of this paper. As we reach across cultures for our literary experiences, other factors are at work than those operative when we read in our own tradition. For the moment let me oversimplify the process and suggest that when we read a work of fiction from another culture, our culture-bound personality—the assumptions we make and our experiences which support or characterize those assumptions—interacts and often conflicts with the culture-bound personality of the author and his expected audience as revealed in the text. When the differing assumptions of writer and reader stand in the way of an adequate response, and this is often the case when we turn to non-Western literature or to Western writers who have been influenced by non-Western conceptions, we are dealing with a reading problem based in cultural diversity.

I believe that solutions to reading problems of this nature are essentially interdisciplinary, requiring the application of methods of questioning always a part of our training, but too seldom employed outside the philosophy, anthropology, sociology or psychology classrooms where they are learned. I suspect our reluctance to do so results from one or two factors: the isolated structures of departments and courses in our institutions of learning which pressure us to think in like terms, and our unstated assumption about the uniqueness of the non-Western world with the concomitant necessity to view all their artifacts in some "other" way. If you believe, and I do, that we study all disciplines as much to know the kinds of questions they pose as to know the answers such questions lead us to for a given problem, their usefulness in approaching non-Western literature is underscored. There is thoughtful support for, and a complete discussion of such questions in Suzanne Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key*.

But let me be more precise. For the solution of reading problems grounded in cultural diversity, I am asserting first that all disciplines are better seen as providing questions appropriate for an analysis of the human condition in life and in literature; second, that the same questions are appropriate for the study of non-Western and Western cultures and their artifacts; and third, that when answers to such questions contradict our expectations, we have discovered an ambiguity which demands special attention in our teaching.

Let me identify one such question and demonstrate its application to literature chosen from both the non-Western and Western traditions. A question often raised in the physical and social sciences which we might employ is this:

²*Heike Monogatari*, tr. A. L. Sadler in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Series I, XLVI, Part 2, p. 1.

what concept of time best describes the sequence of events presented in the subject under investigation, in this case, in the literature we are reading? Having raised such a question, sub-questions traditionally related to literary study may be appended. Sub-question one: what if any, of the writer's perception of spatial order in the literary work supports this concept? Sub-question two: what relationship does this conception of time-space have to the literary elements (to structure, imagery, and point of view, for example), of the work? Sub-question three: what influence are these factors likely to have on a Western reader's response in view of his general expectations concerning time-space-form relationships? Let me proceed to the literature as a way of demonstrating the application of such questions. Consider the opening verses of Longfellow's "The Day Is Done":

The day is done, and the darkness
Falls from the wings of Night,
As a feather is wafted downward
From an eagle in his flight.

I see the lights of the village
Gleam through the rain and the mist,
And a feeling of sadness comes o'er me
That my soul cannot resist:

A feeling of sadness and longing,
That is not akin to pain,
And resembles sorrow only
As the mist resembles the rain.

Come, read to me some poem,
Some simple and heartfelt lay,
That shall soothe this restless feeling,
And banish the thoughts of the day.

Each of us recognizes the simplicity of this poem — in fact, the "simple and heartfelt lay" referred to in the fourth stanza might well be the very lines the poet was writing. But let us ask our questions of the verses. First, note the poem is organized in terms of past, present and future, an arrangement we call "physical time." As is the case with much of our classical literature, it has a lineality which is consistent with our notions of beginning, middle and end. While in other genres, modes, and traditions in Western literature we may employ flashback, interior monologue, stream of consciousness or other methods to indicate "psychological time," we seldom distort the concept of time as a line which stretches from past to future, limited and experienced by an individual human consciousness. Even in our modern poetry the limits to this distortion — if it is "distortion" at all — are loosely established by our culture and are, therefore, manageable by Western readers. Note too that the imagery of Longfellow's verse is almost predictable; there is nothing in any metaphor which violates our expectations or contradicts our notions of time and space. Further, the selection of sadness, longing, sorrow, mist, evening, and rain tell us more about the poet, his expected reader, and their shared culture.

In such a reading experience we can safely assume our students will face little difficulty if they can read the words and organize the syntax. We may need to discuss the appropriateness of this view of sadness and of Longfellow's suggestion that poetry can ameliorate it. Because the answers to our questions do not violate our expectations, we can assume we are not faced with a problem of cultural diversity.

On the other hand, the necessity to negate the experiencing individual "I" of the work is central to much non-Western literature and is implicit in the Oriental "return to nature." That is, the consciousness of self often heightened for the Westerner in seeking his Walden is contrary to the experience suggested by Basho, for example. Doho, one of Basho's leading disciples, has recorded in *Three Books on the Art of Haiku*,

The Master once said: "Learn about pines from pines, and about bamboos from bamboos." What he meant was that the poet must detach himself from his will. . . . A poem may clearly delineate an object; but, unless it embodies a feeling which has naturally emerged out of the object, the poem will not attain a true poetic feeling, since it presents the object and the poet as two separate things.¹

Thus in Basho's *haiku*, the experiencing individual conscious of himself in time is intentionally omitted:

The result of this effort is often to present the literary work without the framework of a time-space structure.

Furthermore, whether or not we hold the eclectic nature of Brahmanic philosophy as cause, the concept of cyclic time, of *kalpa* and *karma*, presents a major stumbling block for Western students nurtured on concepts of lineality. When a Western writer goes beyond these, he is often labeled obscure. Consider Eliot's "East Coker," a popular example:

Part I, lines 1-3 and 6-8.

In these lines Eliot begins to move away from the conception of linear time, of absolute beginning and absolute end. But time is still essentially linear; for the individual "I" of the poem, cessation is a fact. Life beyond that time is decay, return to nature, to physical being without essence. And students note Eliot is more "intensely poetic" — I think they mean more difficult — in "Burnt Norton."

Part II, lines 1-15.

¹Sanzoshi, in *Shomon haiwabun-shu*, 162-163, as found in Makoto Ueda, *Zeami, Basho, Yeats and Pound*, London, 1965, p. 43.

²Oku no hosomichi, BI 595 as found in *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The poet is moving further from the linear time conception in these lines and establishing correspondences which violate our usual expectations. Distinctions like *here* and *there*, *then* and *now*, are not absolute. Eliot, like his Western reader, does not long tolerate the insecurity of such a vision; it must be "reconciled among the stars," a reconciliation quite different for one reader familiar with the *I Ching* and a second who "knows his Milton." A few lines later the poet satisfies our Western expectations by subordinating this conception of time to memory, to consciousness, to intellect:

Part II, lines 37-44

In this last line, Eliot's first reference to "time" is a reference to physical, ordered time; mystical, cyclic time is probably intended in the second.

While the poet has ventured beyond a linear conception of time, he has done so only in ways consistent with the Western European concept of unique individuality as the basis of reality. Our sense that past and future impinge upon the present moment is to be explained by reference to those entities as causal factors in human experience or as components of the collective unconscious. In this sense the individual intellect or unconscious can truncate time and experience to be sensed or felt as part of the "I." In this sense too we turn to history or to Jungian concepts to explain the present or the self.

Yeats, Pound, Hesse, Rilke and Stevens, to name but a few other Western writers, have ventured beyond linear conceptions of time in their works, but they have done so only tentatively. American writers in the romantic or transcendental tradition have gone further toward this end (see, for example, "Song of Myself"), and this explains in part their appeal to many young American readers as well as their difficulty. Non-Western writers employ non-linear conceptions of time frequently, and the effects of this fact on their literature and on our responses to it are significant.

To speak of a non-Western conception of time is, however, somewhat misleading since there are several which differ from our usual conceptions. At least two are deserving of more attention here because they are both a portion of the philosophic mainstream of great non-Western philosophies and because they have had far reaching effects on the art forms of leading non-Western cultures.

The first let us call *time as cyclic death and rebirth*. The philosophical underpinnings for this conception are rooted in the Brahmanic Age in India. Earthly time or *kalpa* was conceived of as being divided in one thousand great ages or *Mayayugas*, each of which was further sub-divided four times. The first

1,728,000 years of each *Mayayuga* was called the *Kritayuga* and it was characterized by men who were just, dutiful, virtuous and wise — a golden age indeed. Such goodness diminished through the next two ages (*Tretayuga* and *Dwaparayuga*) until *Kaliyuga*. In this, our age, men became as men are in India today.

We must remember, however, that both individual experience and these larger structures (*yugas*) in time are illusion, are part of *maya*. Rather than the individual "I" as the basis of reality, the unchanging entity or Atman, at one with Brahman, is conceived.

Unless one is able through piety to escape the necessity of rebirth, he is subject to constant return to this world and to the larger components of time or *kalpas*. Life, as experienced through *atman* or the subjective self, is ultimately undesirable and indestructible. Man is reborn again and again to live out his *karma*, his fate from a previous existence. (See the Evens-Wentz translation of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead, Bardo Thodol*.)

The influence of these concepts on the literature of Asia is manifest in at least two ways. The first implication is that seasonal change as a metaphor for human death and rebirth takes on changed significance. We are not reborn in spirit to a new existence in paradise, but, like a tree after dormancy in winter, born again in fact to work out the consequences of our previous life in the real (*maya*) world. Joy, therefore, comes not as we are convinced of being reborn, but as we escape the necessity to be reborn by living the good life. The contemporary Indian poem "My Successor Will Be Here" translated by W. M. Murray illustrates the somber tone, the absence of joy implicit in the notion of rebirth for the Hindi poet:

The readiness for death manifest in many *satori* (enlightenment) and death poems by Zen priests is further illustration of this point. The Zen priest, hopeful of his escape from the necessity to be reborn but recognizing the possibility of

having to experience another "span of life," greets death in a most unusual fashion. Consider Baiho's (1633-1707) death poem from the Soto Zen sect:

On Entering His Coffin

Never giving thought to fame,
One troublesome span of life behind,
Cross-legged in the coffin,
I'm about to slough the flesh.

A second result of this cyclic notion is the large number of non-Western literary works which view both life in one existence and its fated outcome or second existence. The Noh plays of Japan are excellent examples. In Seami's "Atsumori," my student readers have been troubled by the "confusion of past and present, by the violation of unities." In the play, Rensei, a priest who was formerly the warrior Kumagai, and a young reaper who is the "ghost" of the warrior Atsumori act out their salvation from the *karma* of their battle in a previous encounter. In their earlier life the priest, then warrior Kumagai, had slain Atsumori. With Kumagai's forces pursuing him and with his allies already put to sea in boats, Atsumori remembers,

Atsumori:

What can he do?
He spurs his horse into the waves.
He is full of perplexity.
And then

Chorus:

He looks behind him and sees
That Kumagai pursues him;
He cannot escape.
Then Atsumori turns his horse
Knee-deep in the lashing waves,
And draws his sword.
Twice, three times he strikes; then, still saddled,
In close fight they twine; roll headlong together
Among the surf of the shore.
So Atsumori fell and was slain, but now the Wheel of Fate
Has turned and brought him back.

(Atsumori rises from the ground and advances toward the priest with uplifted sword)

"There is my enemy," he cries, and would strike,
But the other is grown gentle
And calling on Buddha's name
Has obtained salvation for his foe;
So that they shall be re-born together
On one lotus-seat.
"No, Rensei is not my enemy.
Pray for me again, oh pray for me again."

The battle dance or climax is action from time past or "the waking world," the world of illusion; the resolution is in the present, also a time of illusion. Reality

is out of time when one is reborn on "one lotus seat," when one escapes the karmic necessity to be reborn.

The second major non-Western conception of time which may confound our reader's expectations followed the spread of Taoism and Buddhism in China and Japan and is an extension of the first. If, they reasoned, man is subject to countless rebirths, if salvation amounts to escape from this necessity, then time and self in time are illusory. Neither the doubter nor the doubt are real and all distinctions one might make between self and non-self are illusions in time. The literary manifestations of these notions are also interesting. In the fifteenth century Hakugai wrote the following *satori* poem:

Last year in a lovely temple in Hirosawa,
This year among the rocks of Nikko,
All's the same to me:
Clapping hands, the peaks roar at the blue.

Though we are at first tempted to read the poem as a statement of simple disillusionment, in the last line we find the breakdown of our usual conception of logical relationships. The distortion of time-space in the first three lines introduces this breakdown and is central to it. The image in the last line makes clear how we must read the first three. It is not the contrast between the loveliness at Hirosawa and the sterility at Nikko or between past and present but the oneness of the experience despite the apparent difference which we are to realize.

Two centuries later Hakuin negates any limits placed on reality by our perception of it. Again, he rejects linear time as a prelude to indicating the artificiality of any compartmentalizing of reality.

Past, present, future: unattainable,
Yet clear as the moteless sky.
Late at night the stool's cold as iron,
But the moonlit window smells of plum.

Even the absoluteness of sense experience is called into question. Hakuin contrasts the illusion of cold substantiated in the touch of cold iron with the presence of warm spring suggested by the fragrance of plum blossoms. If time is out of time, sense too is unreliable.

This conception of time and the related notions of space and self also lead us to understanding a basic distinction between Western and non-Western literature. Perhaps George Steiner's introductory remarks in *The Death of Tragedy* best highlight the difference.

All men are aware of tragedy in life. But tragedy as a form of drama is not universal. Oriental art knows violence, grief and the stroke of natural or contrived disaster; the Japanese theatre is full of ferocity and ceremonial death. But that representation which we call tragic drama is distinctive of the western tradition.¹

Because of the view of cyclic time and of man as part of nature shared by the major philosophies of the East, non-Western writers have generally neglected a man — universe dichotomy. Usually non-Western writers do not highlight a struggle between man and the cosmos; rather, man is seen as part of the cosmos — a part without special significance. Therefore the tension in Western literature between man and the universe, man and fate — a basic ingredient of Western tragedy — is missing.

¹George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (New York, 1961), p. 3.

Given time, it would be desirable to examine a longer work, its structure, its relation to the concept of tragedy, and other literary elements in the light of concepts of time. The 18th century Chinese novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* is one of the best examples I know of the influence of this conception of time on the structure of an extensive work and its hero is an excellent embodiment of the mindless "Way." Hopefully, sufficient examples have been given to illustrate the method suggested for treating the cultural diversity encountered in non-Western literature. Let me summarize the method.

First, we must teach those questions from any discipline which assist in understanding both the human experience described in the work and the work as art. We must identify any preconceptions, however useful in our study of Western writers, if they contradict the internal evidence in the work.

Second, we must investigate the non-Western literature under study in terms of answers to those questions suggested here. Defined and given value by culture as they are, the aesthetics of literature are not universal.

Finally and most importantly, we must compare and contrast the answers to the expectations of our students. If this is practiced, I believe they shall better understand both the literature and the people of the non-Western world and themselves.

INDO-ENGLISH FICTION: 1847-1947*

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During the 100 years from 1847 to 1947, when India gained her independence, a new genre of literature developed, produced by Indians in English, which I shall call Indo-English. A literary expression ranging from the most utilitarian prose to the most ambitious verse, its growth may be attributed to the unique genius of the Indian people. In contemporary Indian literature flowering in as many as fifteen languages, Indo-English literature clearly demonstrates the Indian philosophic outlook of unity in rich diversity.

Several factors contributed to the development of Indo-English literature. First, in 1857, when universities modeled after London University were established, Indians were educated in schools and colleges with English as the medium of instruction. Educated Indians used the English language in their official, public, and even in their private lives. It is no wonder, therefore, in their struggle for expression in an adopted language, they created a new body of Indo-English literature.

Second, the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 led to a kind of literary patriotism and a desire to revive the Indian classics. Third, some of the newly-converted Indian Christian families (such as the Dutt family in Calcutta, or the Sathianandhan family in Madras) being estranged from their inherited cultural tradition, clung to the tradition of their adopted religion and sought to express themselves in English. In that period, English-educated Indians used the English language in a variety of ways — for writing verse and for portraying sketches of Indian life, for example.

Most of the sketches written in the latter half of the 19th century relate to Indian domestic or rural life. They were written mainly for the purpose of stimulating action for social or economic reforms. These works, lacking plot and character, are of slight literary interest. On the other hand, a historian or a sociologist may find in them a wealth of information relating to life in India during the 19th century, the gradual transformation that was taking place in traditional Indian society because of the impact of English education, and the work of Christian missions.

The earliest of these works was Lal Behari Day's *Govinda Samata* (1874), followed by Behramji Malabari's *Gujarat and the Gujaratis* (1882) Coopoo Swamy's *Everyday Life in South India* (1885), T. Ramakrishna Pillai's *Life in an Indian Village* (1891), and Nagesh Wishwanath Pai's *Stray Sketches in Chakmakpore* (1894).

Although these Indo-English authors as a whole lacked creative ability to write stories or delineate characters, they assumed the role of social chroniclers rather than fiction writers. Some of them tried to overcome their creative limitations by re-telling ancient myths, popular legends, or even village folk-tales. An English education and study of European literature influenced educated Indians, who had become familiar with Greek myths and Grimm's tales, to search for their own native literature.

*Adapted from a paper read by Professor Alphonso-Karkala at the 78th Annual Modern Language Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-29, 1963.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Indo-English writers looked for source material in their national epics, history, and even among the old villagers who had kept alive a tradition of oral transmission. In these rural and historical narratives one sees the symptoms of emergent nationalism — the native literature becomes important because it is native.

Artistic merit aside, these legends not only contributed to a more dynamic national self-consciousness but also enriched contemporary literature. A comparable situation would be the Irish nationalism and the retelling of the Gaelic folktales, and the German nationalism and the re-expression of Teutonic myths and legends in the 19th century.

The most notable among such tales in English are Lal Behari's *Folk Tales of Bengal* (1883), P. V. Ramaswami Raju's *Indian Fables* (1889), Manmatha Nath Dutt's four volumes under the general title *Gleanings from Indian Classics* (1893-4) — Vol. I, *Tales of India*; Vol. II, *Heroes of India*; Vols. III, IV, *Prophets of India*, Parts I and II. Also Toru Dutt's *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882), although these works were in English verse. While Lal Behari faithfully recorded village folk tales as he heard them recited, Manmatha Nath Dutt and others presented the most dramatic and poetic stories in simple and puerile fashion.

In addition to sketches and tales, efforts were made in the 19th century to write Indo-English fiction. These writings, however, were only amateur attempts for the authors were just beginning to wield the language for creative purposes. Unfortunately, one author gave up writing in the English language completely while two other gifted writers died in their youth. Thus Indo-English fiction in the 19th century resulted in rudimentary beginnings in the direction of the novel.

Bankim Chandra Chatterje (1838-1894), the greatest Bengali novelist of the 19th century, was the first Indian to write a story in English. After his graduation from Presidency College, he wrote his first and last story in English, "Rajmehar's Wife," which was serialized in *The Indian Field* (1864).

Bankim was too staunch a nationalist to use a foreign language for artistic expression. He not only rejected English in favor of his native Bengali, but persuaded other young Bengalis to write in their mother tongue. Under his influence, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, who had shown some promise in his English verse, turned to Bengali and became famous as a novelist, dramatist, and an epic poet; also, Romesh Chunder Dutt, who had published a number of books in English, then wrote novels in Bengali.

Stimulated by national sentiments and a zeal for reform, Bankim Chandra wrote many great social, historical, and political novels in Bengali, which stirred not only Bengal but the whole of India. One wonders whether Bankim would have written equally great novels had he continued to write in English.

Bankim Chandra's example, however, was not taken too seriously by other Indo-English writers, mainly because they lacked his intense nationalism or creative vigor. A few writers who sought to portray life around them only succeeded in giving a mass of detail of domestic life and daily routine in an orthodox household. Examples are: Bulloram Mullick's *Home Life in Bengal* (1885), Davendra Nath Das' *Sketches of Hindu Life* (1887), H. Dutt's *Bijoy Chand* (1888), Khetrapal Chakravarti's *Sarala and Hingana* (1895), and B. R. Rajam Aiyar's "Miscellaneous Stories," and "True Greatness of Vasudeva Sastri," pub-

lished in *Prabuddha Bharata* (Nadras, 1896-8). Although many of these stories give a good cross-section of life in a Hindu community, the narratives lack the restraint of a controlling form.

However, one of the writers of the period, Sasi Chunder Dutt, had interesting ideas which compensated somewhat for his lack of knowledge of plot construction. He studied criminal court trials and history books as source material for his stories. Dutt's *Realities of India Life* (1885) contains accounts from the Criminal Reports of India, while *The Times of Yore* (1895), written jointly with Saurindra Mohan Tagore, contains tales from Indian history from the invasion of Alexander to the British conquest.

Significant in the development of Indo-English fiction in the last quarter of the 19th century was the emergence of women writers. The movement for emancipation of women in India was led by Raja Rammohun Roy in the 1820's when he took up the campaign against *sati* (burning of widows). As a result, *sati* was banned in 1829. He also vigorously advocated equal rights for women, both in terms of inheritance and education. Later, Behranji Malabari's ceaseless efforts to prohibit child marriage and to encourage education and remarriage of child widows opened the doors of schools to many young women, including child brides and child widows.

In the last quarter of the century, although families like the Dutt's educated their girls at home and at school, and even sent them to universities, there still remained many obstacles to women's complete emancipation. This battle was then taken over by a few educated women themselves, who became writers incidentally, in their effort to communicate their bitter experiences over their hard and long struggle against social prejudices and superstitions. They tried to tell the world the obstacles the women faced and disadvantages they suffered in an orthodox Hindu household. These dedicated women writers struggled to give form and shape to their autobiographical accounts which attracted publishers both in India and abroad.

Foremost among these women writers was Toru Dutt. "Highly educated" according to her time, and a gifted artist as well, she established her reputation as a poetess by the publication of her verse, *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876) and *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882). But when her unfinished English novel *Bianca: or The Young Spanish Maid* (1878) and a complete romance in French, *Le Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers* (1879) were posthumously published in Calcutta and Paris respectively, critics were surprised by her capacity to write fiction.

A number of works by women writers then appeared in quick succession: Raj Lakshmi Debi's *The Hindu Wife* (1876), published in Calcutta; Ramabai Saraswati's *The High Caste Hindu Woman* (1886), published in Philadelphia; Shevantibai Nikambe's *Rataubi: A Sketch of a Bombay High Caste Hindu Young Wife* (1895), published in London; and Krupabai Sathianandhan's two novels, *Kamala: A Story of Hindu Life* (1894) and *Saguna: A Story of Native Christian Life* (1895), published in Madras. Among all these works, Toru's unfinished story and Krupabai's two novels are those that best show evidence of the author's creative abilities to write fiction. Unfortunately, both of these young women died at an early age, before fulfilling the promise of their genius.

Finally, before the end of the century, a new trend developed. Although no significant Indo-English novelist had emerged, novels had become popular and powerful, especially in Bengal, through the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee,

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, and others. Their novels were widely read and discussed not only in their home state but in translated versions throughout India.

However, the problem of translating Bengali novels into fourteen regional languages was enormous, and also these translations did not reach the English-reading public. Therefore, to present the best of Bengali novels to a larger readership throughout India, as well as in England, some of the works of Bankim Chandra were translated from Bengali into English. Five such translations appeared in quick succession: *Durgesh Nandini* (1880), *The Poison Tree* (1884), *Kopal Kundala* (1885), *Krishnakanta's Will* (1895), and *Two Rings* (1897).

The translation of Bengali novels into English set into motion a new tendency among fiction writers. Since English translations widely publicized the authors and attained recognition for them in English literary circles, novelists were tempted to translate their own works from the original regional language into English.

For example, Romesh Chunder Dutt, who had better command of English than Bengali, was persuaded to write in Bengali by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and he actually wrote Bengali novels. Later Romesh Chunder translated his own novels from Bengali into English: *The Lake of Palms* and *The Slave Girl of Agra* were published in 1902 and 1909 respectively.

This vogue of translating novels from the vernacular into the language of the ruling class continued until the end of the First World War. When Rabindranath Tagore translated his own Bengali poems, plays, and novels into English, he was obviously following this tradition. These novels in English translation, even though such translations were made by the author himself, cannot strictly be considered as original Indo-English works; yet, because of their wide circulation and popularity, they have no doubt contributed to a growing interest in Indo-English fiction in the 20th century.

The Gandhian era saw the real beginning of Indo-English fiction. From 1920 to 1947, a number of writers attempted short stories and novels. By that time there were many changes which acted as an impetus to creative young writers of fiction in English: the extension of English education, increasing national self-confidence following the *swadeshi* and *satyagraha* movements, and the growing awareness of socio-economic problems. Although many works were published during this period, I shall briefly refer to only a few significant writers, such as K. S. Venkataramani, Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, and Raja Rao.

Venkataramani first published his sketch *Paper Boat* in 1921. Two years later he published *On the Sand Dunes* (1923), a prose-poem in the manner of Tagore's *Gitanjali*. But his most significant contributions to fiction are *Murugan the Tiller* (1927), a passionate plea for a return to an idealistic life on the bosom of Nature, and his second book *Kundan the Patriot* (1932), which was dedicated to the "unknown volunteer in India's fight for freedom," expressing in rather artistic style idealistic politics of the Gandhian era.

The other novelist who tried to present socio-economic problems of the time in artistic form is Mulk Raj Anand. Born in Peshawar, he was educated at Lahore, London, and Cambridge Universities. Mulk Raj associated himself actively with the Indian Progressive Writers' Movement. Although at present he is mainly concerned with art criticism (he edits the magazine *Marg*), he wrote and published a dozen novels and collections of short stories from 1934 to 1947.

His books include: *The Lost Child and Other Stories* (1934); *Untouchable* (1935) with a preface by E. M. Forster; *Coolie* (1936); *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937); trilogy, *The Village* (1939), *Across the Black Waters* (1940), and *The Sword and the Sickle* (1942); *Barbers Trade Union and Other Stories* (1944); *The Big Heart* (1945); *Apology for Heroism* (1946), autobiography. Although Mulk Raj's major work is his trilogy, *Coolie* and *The Untouchable* are well known.

R. K. Narayan was educated in India, and until recently never moved out of South India. A story teller, he is at best when he deals with surface peculiarities of sophisticated South Indian life. The Anglicized Indian, a self-divided and anguished person, is his peculiar province. From 1935 to 1947, he published four novels and half a dozen collections of short stories: *Swami and Friends* (1935); *The Bachelor of Arts* (1937), with an introduction by Graham Greene; *The Dark Room* (1938); *Malgudi Days* (1943); *Cyclone and Other Stories* (1943); *Dodu and Other Stories* (1943); and *The English Teacher* (1945).

Narayan is a cultivated craftsman who knows how to write a beautiful short story on a simple idea or a simple situation. He writes directly and clearly with a certain sense of humor. His limitation, however, is that his little bit of ivory is rather too little; he touches only the sophisticated levels of life. Nevertheless he has written more mature novels since India's independence and one of his novels, *The Guide*, is currently being filmed in the United States.

The last writer I would like to mention is Raja Rao, who among all Indo-English novelists seems to have some depth in his works. Raja Rao, a novelist and short-story writer, was born and educated in Mysore and later studied in France. He writes both in French and English. He is not a voluminous writer, but when he writes a book once in a decade, he weaves into it his profoundest thoughts and feelings. His first novel, *Kanthapura*, appeared in 1938 and was republished in the U.S. in 1963 by New Directions. A collection of his short stories, *The Cow of the Barricades*, was published in 1947. His recent book, *The Serpent and the Rope* (1962), has drawn considerable critical attention in many parts of the world and is being translated into a number of languages.

Raja Rao is very conscious of his art. His descriptions are poetic and his novels have something of the epic purpose. The technique he used in *Kanthapura* is Conradian: A grandmother takes the place of Marlowe. The theme is the response that a Mysorian village gives to the challenge of Mahatma Gandhi's militant program of satyagraha and civil disobedience. Although the *Kanthapura* is full of Gandhian politics, unlike Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao does not make his novel an instrument of mere propaganda, but with considerable restraint makes it a creative work of fiction.

Raja Rao admits that telling the story in English has not been easy. He does not escape the principal difficulty lying in the way of Indo-English writers—the problem of language. He faces the question rather boldly when he talks of Indian English:

One has to convey in a language that is not one's own a spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word 'alien' yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up, but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bilingual. Many of us write in our own language and in English. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the

large world as part of us. Our method of expression, therefore, has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it.¹

Finally, the position of English in India is not the same as in Australia, New Zealand, or Canada where English has no linguistic or cultural opposition. Therefore, although Indo-English writers have not produced a Tolstoy, the very fact that Indians have produced literature at all in a foreign language is a marvel in itself. Since every genre of literature has its obscure beginning, gradual assimilation, enrichment and growth, the great works of maturity in Indo-English literature are, perhaps, yet to come.

¹K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Indian Contribution to English Literature* (Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House) 1945, p. 194.

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